EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE Nation

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Mirage Fortress

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Russia's Role in the U. S.-China Deadlock

by Harold Greer

Democratic Giveaway: The Natural-Gas Bill

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The Negro's Two-Front Fight

by Hubert T. Delany

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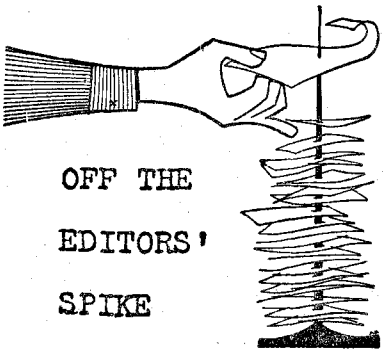

OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

• From Life's much-talked about article, "How Dulles Averted War," which we now know was "shortened and edited and approved" by its editor-in-chief Mr. Henry R. Luce, one learns that Mr. Dulles' grandfather, John W. Dulles, was once Secretary of State. Without benefit of Life's nearly infallible research staff—"three errors and you're out" is the rule up there—we can state categorically that it was Mr. Dulles' grandfather, John W. Foster, who succeeded Blaine as Secretary of State (1892-1893).

• On only two occasions since the Spanish Civil War has Pablo Casals played outside of Prades, the French-Spanish border town in which he has settled as a voluntary exile. Earlier this month he played in Puerto Rico, the birthplace of his mother. Last week he played with the Vera Cruz Symphony Orchesta in Mexico. Many of his devoted admirers here are pointing out to him that Carnegie Hall is much closer, as the crow flies, to Vera Cruz than it is to Prades. But in other ways the distance is much greater: Mexico still recognizes the Spanish Republic; the United States, on the other hand, has never been closer to Franco than it is today. Undoubtedly this fact is uppermost in Casal's mind as he listens to the entreaties of his American friends. And another factor which he must weigh is this: if he wanted to come to the U. S., would he be permitted entry? Musicians who once carried low-number Nazi membership cards may be persona grata here, but premature anti-Fascists are in a different category.

• Recently Carson-Newman College of Jefferson City, Tennessee, a small Baptist institution, applied for and received a grant of $202,900 from the Ford Foundation to be used in payment of faculty salaries. Checking back, we discovered that Congressman B. Carroll Reece, who has been baiting the foundations in general and the Ford Foundation in particular, is an alumnus of Carson-Newman, class of 1914, and for the last six years has served as one of its trustees. Dr. D. Harley Fite, president of Carson-Newman, assures us that the trustees approve the application and that Mr. Reece was "elated" when it was granted. Really, now, Mr. Reece, isn't the money tainted if half the things you have said about this particular foundation are true?

• The Salute to Eisenhower dinners may well mark a revolution in campaign techniques. One-minute TV pickups were brought in from dinners at Los Angeles, Boston, Portland, Atlanta, Cleveland, Houston, Detroit, Des Moines, New York and Chicago. Then Mr. Eisenhower's familiar face appeared on the TV screens and banqueteers at sixty-three rallies in fifty-two cities were able to watch him as he delivered his address. This remarkable feat was made possible, of course, by closed-circuit TV. Widely used nowadays for all sorts of industrial purposes—it permits the boss to spy on the performance of employees at distant points and utility engineers to make remote readings of water gauges at steam power-generating stations—closed-circuit TV differs from the broadcast variety in that the latter sends images over the air waves while the former generally uses electric cables. Closed-circuit or industrial-type TV cameras and monitor receivers are smaller than similar broadcast equipment and can be handled with much greater ease. Closed-circuit TV, with the back-and-forth exchanges and switches which it makes possible, is likely to revolutionize campaign techniques.

• On the score of electronic miracles, the Supreme Court must now decide whether listening in on a two-way radio channel falls in the same legal category as tapping a telephone wire. The court has agreed to review an Arizona case involving the use of two-way radio communication by a cotton grower to alert his Mexican fieldhands to the approach of Immigration Service inspectors. A radio monitor for the F. C. C. picked up the warning message and it was introduced in evidence against the cotton grower. To William Whyte's question of some years back, "Is Anybody Listening?" the answer must now be, yes, indeed, everybody's listening.

• The new set of officers who were recently elected to head the New York local of AFTRA (see The Nation, September 3, 1955, and December 31, 1955) have asked Representative Francis Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to prove his charge that "a militant Communist faction" is at work in the union. The constitution of the union bars Communists from membership. The new president of the local, Charles Collingwood, also challenges Walter's assertion that reports of blacklisting in radio and television were phoney charges manufactured by the Reds. "If the committee really thinks that the only people in the entertainment industry who are disturbed by the excesses of the blacklisting system are Communists or their dupes," Mr. Collingwood said, "then it is laboring under a misapprehension. Concern over the manifest inequities of the blacklist is shared by the overwhelming majority of the performers and by, one suspects, a large proportion of the employers as well. The blacklist is dying and the present officers and majority of the New York local board of AFTRA intend to do everything they can to assist the process."

• That vigorous conservationist, Senator Richard Neuberger, may turn out to be Madison Avenue's "man-of-the-year." From Tide (January 28) one learns that the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company has placed an eight-page, $240,000 ad in Reader's Digest for February. Tide notes that the ad is "particularly well-timed not only in view of unfavorable publicity the timber industry is receiving from the current Senatorial investigations [into possible exploitation of government land] but in view of the upcoming House investigation into conservation."

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The Shape of Things

Propaganda Gambit

The Soviet proposal for a twenty-year friendship treaty with this country was offered, one may be sure, with no anticipation of acceptance. But dismissing the proposal as "propaganda" does not deprive the Soviets of the advantage which accrues to them from making it. Good propaganda is based on an appraisal of the wishes, hopes and aspirations of those to whom it is addressed. The propaganda effects of a statement cannot be countered, therefore, simply by pointing to its inconsistencies and ambiguities. Mr. Molotov's statement in Prague that he found it hard to understand "how anyone can refuse a treaty of friendship" may well make a more profound impression on the sections of world opinion to which the Soviet proposal was addressed than the President's temperate and dignified reply. The President wisely left the door open to further direct exchanges but even so one may doubt that his reply countered the effect of the Soviet proposal. It was not enough, for example, for the President to point out that the proposed treaty simply restated obligations which already exist under the United Nations charter. To many people the execution of a bilateral accord between the two great powers at this time would be interpreted as a development of enormous importance. Hence the President's reply should have gone a step further and suggested the conditions on which we would be willing to conclude a treaty of friendship or it might have included the draft of a more far-reaching and meaningful proposal.

The President might also have used the opportunity to reject a form of reply repeated so often that it has become a cliche of American diplomatic correspondence: the notion, that is, that we are justified in demanding "deeds not words" before we will negotiate with the Russians. The purpose of most negotiation is to get the parties to agree to do certain things; the performance of deeds is the result and not the precondition of negotiation. We put ourselves in an untenable position, therefore, when we continue to insist that the Soviets, as an evidence of good faith, abandon their position on the German question in favor of ours before we will negotiate the question with them. By taking this position, we not only permit them to use us as the "straight men" for their propaganda: we appear to be saying that we want not a settlement through peaceful negotiation but unconditional surrender on the key issues. It is time we abandoned a form of reaction to their propaganda gambits so stereotyped that it might be described as a conditioned reflex.

Neo-Nazism in Colombia

The U. N. Commission for Human Rights was recently presented with a lengthy dossier on Colombia which deserves greater public attention that it has so far received. President Rojas Pinillas has declared vast regions of the country to be "zones of military operations"; in these zones, contrary to the Colombian penal law, military tribunals have been established to deal with charges of subversion not only against military personnel, but against civilians. Defendants have no right to counsel, and the burden of proof rests upon them rather than upon the prosecution. The denunciation of a single individual has in some instances led to the arrest of several hundred persons charged with "conspiracy against the government." Any sign of unrest among the peasants—as, for instance, a show of resistance against the widespread extortion practices of corrupt local officials—may result in the forced transport of whole communities to other areas. Estimates are that at least 50,000 men, women and children have been so transported and are now living in "exile" in the regions of Sumapaz, Oriente and Sur de Tolima.

The democratic trend in Brazil, marked by the election of President Juscelino Kubitschek, has apparently frightened the Rojas Pinillas regime into tightening its repressive measures. Few independent newspapers have been able to survive the press censorship. *El Tiempo* is the Colombian equivalent of *La Prensa;* its publisher, Dr. Eduardo Santos, former president of Colombia, is now in France and his newspaper, a stalwart opponent of the excesses of the Pinillas regime, has been suppressed. The French press recently gave Dr. Santos a demonstration of warm sympathy, but so far the world has proved blind to the great suffering of tens of thousands of his countrymen.

Monopoly: a New Concept

The Federal Communications Commission has adopted a new theory of monopoly. The commission has denied the application of the company which owns the Madison *Capital-Times* for a TV license in Madison on the ground that this same company also owns the city's other newspaper and a local radio station. An application by the company that owns the McClatchy newspapers in California (Sacramento *Bee,* Fresno *Bee* and Modesto *Bee)* for a license to operate a TV station

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in the area served by these papers has been denied for the same reason. The *Capital-Times* and the McClatchy newspapers are among the few independent dailies of significant influence published in Wisconsin and California today. They would also have to be included in any list of the dozen or so best independent dailies in the country.

In denying these applications the F. C. C. may have followed the letter of the law; if so, the law is a strange one and is being inconsistently applied. For the one VHF channel alloted to Madison has been granted to the Murphy interests, which enjoy monopolies in six cities of which Madison is not one. Acquisition by them of the valuable TV outlet in Madison strengthens their monopoly position in the communications field; it will also strengthen the Republican influence in this field. Elsewhere in Wisconsin, six Republican newspapers, each enjoying a local monopoly, have been jointly granted a license for the only TV outlet in the area. The Ridder interests have a newspaper monopoly in Duluth, but also managed to acquire a TV license. The Cowles group, with a newspaper monopoly in Minneapolis, and the Ridder interests, with a newspaper monopoly in St. Paul, jointly own a TV outlet servicing the Twin Cities. Is the F. C. C., as presently constituted, only sensitive to independent monopolies? And why does it adhere to such a narrow concept of "community" in an age of television and radio? In view of the advantage which one of the two major parties already enjoys in the field of mass communications, common sense if not the Federal Communications Act would seem to dictate the wisdom of encouraging a few independently-owned, or "countervailing," monopolies. If monopoly is necessary to survival, then we should encourage a diversity in them if only to offset, in some small degree, the overwhelming dominance of interests friendly to the Republican Party in the mass-communications field.

What Makes Prosperity

In a recent published monograph on "The Economics of Employment and Unemployment," Paul H. Casselman of the University of Ottawa remarks: "Only twice in history has capitalism achieved full employment and in each case a war or the threat of war was responsible. The supreme test will take place when the economies of the world depend on normal effective demand to maintain themselves, and when artificial stimulant of economic activity by war, the threat of war and the preparation for war has ceased." This, of course, was one of the lessons about the American economy which Matthew Josephson sought to drive home in his series in this magazine on *The Big Guns*. It is also one of the lessons which the American electorate ought to keep in mind this election year.

Economist Casselman also has some things to say which are relevant to Richard S. Leghorn's article on page 89 of this issue. One of Mr. Leghorn's theses is that the "mass mobilization base" concept to which this country is geared has a stultifying effect on our foreign trade, which in turn affects adversely our own long-range economy as well as that of nations wanting to trade with us. Mr. Casselman warns that no country is exempt from the consequences of tariffs, trade barriers, surpluses or other catastrophes overseas—and he reminds his readers that not all American business slumps have been of indigenous origin; some resulted from depression in Britain and Germany. The argument for free trade is based on enlightened self-interest, and it holds good on every level—political, economic and military.

France's Republican Front

The election of the veteran Socialist, Andre Le Troquer, as President of the French National Assembly indicates clearly enough what the election returns had already shown—the Left today dominates France. It was, however, the votes of the Communists which enabled the strongly anti-Communist Le Troquer to win his victory, and the durability of the next French government is likely to depend on two factors: the willingness of the Mendes-France Radicals and the Socialists to accept Communist support, and the willingness of the Communists, on their side, to yield it. The Communists have already made their decision on this point. At a meeting which preceded the official session of their National Committee two weeks ago, they established that their new tactic would be to support a Republican Front government even if they do not form part of it.

The attitude of the Mendes-France Radicals and of the Socialists is another question. Guy Mollet, Socialist Premier designate at the time this was written, has so far shown no indication of retreating from his traditional position of opposition to any deals with the extreme Left. Mendes-France, more cautious, has never committed himself so thoroughly; after all, he relied upon the Communists on more than one important issue when he was himself Premier. These men, if they want to form a Republican Front government, have only two choices before them: they must accept Communist support—at least in the sense of not rejecting it—with all that this implies, or they must move sufficiently to the Right to win a majority on the other side of the chamber. And on this latter point Mendes-France, at least, is most thoroughly committed. Before the elections and since, he has said that he will not forsake principle to win office. In his stand he has the ardent support of Francois Mauriac, Catholic leftist and Nobel prize winner, who in *L'Express*—Mendes-France's own paper—has expressed himself bitterly against yielding to what he termed "reaction's blackmail."

This is the situation at a moment when France faces a most grave crisis in Algeria. The first session of the new Assembly underscored the urgency of the problem: thirty empty seats awaited deputies from Algeria, where no election could be held because large areas are in an active state of revolt. Most of the French press—both

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the Right and the Left—give the new government two months at the outside in which to do something to avert catastrophe. In France today all other problems pale alongside the North African one.

Elections in Greece

A foreign-aid program designed to stop communism by alleviating poverty is one thing; the kind of foreign aid we have given to Greece, by and large, is quite another. Despite the hundreds of millions of dollars the U. S. has poured into that country, most objective observers agree that the Communist Party is showing surprising strength as the day approaches (February 19) for the Greek national elections. Communist propaganda is particularly intense in the heavily populated regions of Epirus and Thessally, where widespread hunger has created just the right atmosphere for a heavy "protest vote." According to official Greek figures, 35 per cent of the country's population is underfed, underclothed and without proper housing. What the statistics do not show is that this one-third of the people has become extremely skeptical of government promises to "improve" conditions.

The Communist-oriented E. D. A., as a political party, has an additional advantage as the elections approach: the government parties are themselves split between the supporters of Constantin Karamanlis, head of the present caretaker Cabinet, and the late Marshall Papagos, whom Karamanlis succeeded. There is talk of a "People's Front" in Athens, and even Venizelos, head of the Democratic Liberal Union, seems not averse to some agreement with the E. D. A. The result of the Greek elections may turn out to be as surprising as those recently held in France. If they do, the American taxpayer will surely be entitled to ask: "What's happened to my millions?"

A Man Called Peters

In an early and unsavory chapter of this country's history, one Abigale Peters, the presiding judge of the Salem assize, wrote a letter protesting the witchcraft trials. Three hundred years later, Dr. John Peters, a descendant of the judge, was protesting the witchcraft trials of the Washington assize. It appears that the Peters family is as stubbornly addicted to dissent as America is to witchcraft (of one kind or another). Dr. Peters was dismissed as consultant to the Surgeon General's Office in 1953 on loyalty grounds. He fought back and in June, 1955, the Supreme Court ruled that the loyalty reviewing board had erred in ordering his discharge, since he had been cleared previously by two other boards.

The Peters decision was one of the first of the series of set-backs which the current witch-hunt has been receiving from the courts. At the time of his ordeal, Dr. Peters was senior professor of medicine at Yale University, internationally known as a biochemist; he was also a leader in the movement for the improvement of medical care and for the expansion of public-health service. His friend and attorney, Fowler Harper, professor of law at Yale, said of him: "I think I saw with some clarity the many contradictions of his character—the kindliness and the steel, the simplicity and the urbanity, the intricate personality, the precision-like mechanism of his mind, the softness and warmth of his nature, and above all the flint-like quality of his courage. In man's long struggle to civilize himself, it would be hard to find better evidence of success."

On December 29, 1955, seven months after his vindication by the Supreme Court, Dr. Peters died at the age of sixty-nine in the New Haven hospital where for years he had made daily rounds without fee.

That Cultural Curtain

Mrs. Norman Chandler, describing a recent visit to Russia to a House Education subcommittee, said she found conditions there quite different from what she had "read and heard." Maybe one reason for her unpreparedness was that she is a regular reader, we expect, of her husband's newspaper, the Los Angeles *Times*, never noted for its objective coverage of any news having relation to communism. Who can say that the Geneva spirit is dead when both Mrs. Chandler and her husband, who accompanied her on the trip, now argue ardently that the best American artists should be encouraged to visit Russia and the best Russian artists be welcomed here? While in Moscow last fall the Chandlers invited the Bolshoi Theatre troupe to visit Los Angeles (See Off the Editor's Spike, *The Nation*, November 12, 1955). And last month in her appearance before the House subcommittee Mrs. Chandler urged the adoption of a four-point cultural exchange program:

1. The funds available for the program should be increased to about $7,000,000.
2. Consideration should be given to "importing" as well as "exporting" talent. Since visiting orchestras, ballets and individual performers can earn dollars here their financial problems are less severe.
3. Governmental barriers to talent exchanges should be lowered on a reciprocal basis. The State Department fingerprinting requirements to which the Russians object should be removed.
4. Steps should be taken to remove the fear which many American artists have of going to the Soviet Union or other "unfriendly" countries. Washington should make known that it endorses such trips and publicly thank patriotic citizens who undertake them.

"In Russia," Mrs. Chandler told the committee, "they encourage big groups to come—they have had *Porgy and Bess* and now they want a symphony orchestra. We take the opposite view. . . . We have had the Soviet violinist David Oistrakh but one man can do very little good talking about America when he returns. We need have no fear of what they will see here. . . ."

Add Mrs. Chandler's four points to a truly effective and enlarged Point 4 program and this country would have the beginnings of a sound foreign policy.

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Those "Immutable" Facts

In its January issue *Harper's* publishes an article by Thomas R. Waring, editor of the Charleston, South Carolina, *News and Chronicle,* called "The Southern Case Against Desegregation." The magazine explains that it prints the piece not because it agrees with Mr. Waring, but because he represents a point of view held by a significant proportion of the citizenry and that such opinions should be given national hearing. We agree with the principle, but have doubts on the instance.

The trouble with Mr. Waring's claim of a right to be heard is that what he says is what we have been hearing for years. He gives five reasons for opposing segregation:

1. Negro children, on the average, are dirtier and more diseased than white children. Figures are lacking, but it is "generally accepted in the South" that the Negro population is riddled with venereal disease.

2. The bulk of Negro children come from working-class homes; whereas the bulk of white children are little middle-classers.

3. Negroes are immoral as compared to white. Marriage is a casual affair and illegitimacy carries little stigma.

4. Crime is more prevalent among Negroes than among whites. A mingling of the races in the schools would likely produce gangsterism at the juvenile level.

5. Negro children are on the average two grades behind their white contemporaries.

Finally, Mr. Waring suspects, though he has the grace to say he cannot prove it, that responsible Negroes don't want their children to go to white schools. They just want good schools of their own and by and large, says Mr. Waring, they are now getting very good ones, considering what small taxes they pay.

The sad thing about this is that Mr. Waring is neither stupid nor wicked; he cannot help that bigotry is bred in his bones and he honestly believes that his argument is cogent. The dirt, disease, servility, immorality, criminality and intellectual backwardness of the Negro are deplorable, but they are "facts." And to him they are immutable facts, because the colored folks (bless them!) are just that way.

DEMOCRATIC GIVEAWAY

The Natural-Gas Bill . . . *by Edgar Kemler*

BEFORE this session of Congress is ended, New Deal-style Federal Power Commission regulations will almost certainly be lifted from the Southwestern gas producers. At the same time, the nation's 20,000,000 natural-gas consumers will almost certainly be gouged with higher gas bills, the rise being $25 to $40 per year. It is on the contrary contention, however—of lower rather than higher gas bills—that the present bill squeaked through the House last year by a six-vote margin and that it is expected presently to squeak through the Senate under the benign Rayburn-Johnson Democratic leadership. This argument is absurd on its face. Apparently logic was one of the victims of the $1,500,000 campaign chest which a year ago the American Petroleum Institute disclosed it had available. Furthermore, it is difficult to escape the big-business atmosphere that now pervades the Senate cloakrooms and offices, with Senator Monroney admitting that he can't stand up to the gas-producer lobby, while another Senator, Margaret Chase Smith, loudly orders a gas-minded editor out of her sight.

As is so often the case, industry officials are much more forthright about their objectives than their congressional mouthpieces. In *Barron's Weekly* of November 5, 1954, where the producers let their hair down, there is no idle chatter about protecting consumers. There is, however, a firm declaration of producer policy to let low-cost natural gas become as expensive to the consumer as high-cost coal or fuel oil. During the freewheeling seven-year period from 1947 to 1954, before the Supreme Court ordered controls reinstated, prices did skyrocket in that direction, rising from 4 cents per thousand cubic feet to 10 cents. Most, if not all, of this increase, was passed on to the consumer—a $282,000,000 gouge in three years. For the gas producer in his Southwestern natural-gas fields was then the only unregulated unit in the gas-transmission system, with the interstate pipelines subject to the Federal Power Commission and local gas utilities subject to state or local regulation. Moreover, since the pipelines own and control about 22 per cent of gas production, since their interests are producers' interests, they did not resist the gouge. That a new gouge, with field prices rising to 20 cents or 25 cents for windfall profits of one-half billion dollars, might result in declining markets rather than expanding ones for the producers doesn't particularly bother them. With 20,000,000 consumers committed to natural gas by their $11 billion investment in gas furnaces, stoves and water heaters, the producers are convinced they will get away with it.

Added to the myth of the "consumer-minded" producers is the myth of a price-depressing competition among producers based on the fact that there are about 6,000 of

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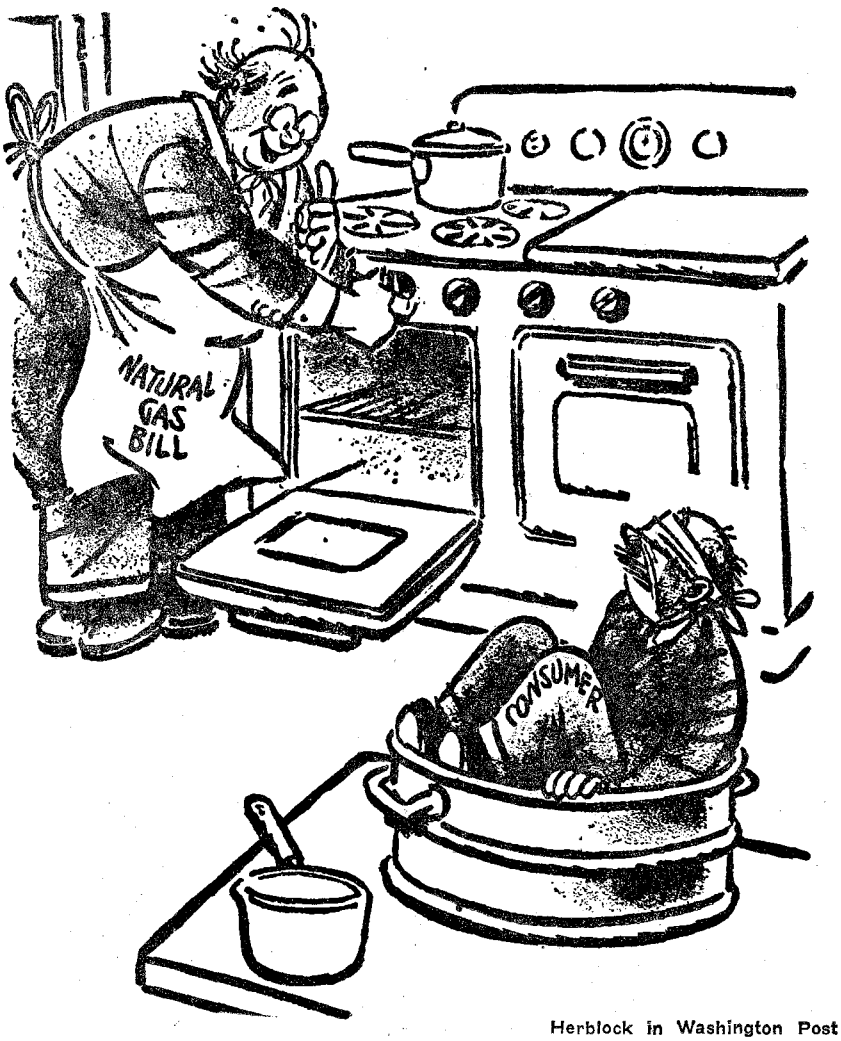
them. However, only about fifteen giant companies, including Standard Oil of New Jersey and Phillips Petroleum, account for 50 per cent of gas production in Texas which is 50 per cent of the U. S. total. As to price policy, so small is the influence of the many small companies against the giants that nobody objects to freeing them from regulation. It should be noted, further, that these giants are considerably more interested in the oil that they extract from their holdings than in the gas, which explains their reckless drive for sky-high gas prices. Once this aim is achieved, they would make the best of both interests, securing maximum windfall profits on gas, while protecting oil from gas competition. Under the present Federal Power Commission freeze on gas prices, they are apparently restricting gas production as well as gas exploration in an all-or-nothing gamble. Within the past two years, gas reserves have shrunk appreciably with only a twenty-two-year known supply now in hand. While sympathetic Senators make much of this to illustrate the evils of regulation, it could also be cited as grounds for more regulation—for prying loose the gas industry from oil-industry domination, for example.



Herblock in Washington Post

"Don't peek—it's sort of a surprise"

THE bipartisan opposition to the gas bill is led by the 64-year-old ex-economics professor, Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois. When the decisive debate began on January 16, the Douglas group, consisting roughly of twenty-one Northern Democrats and eleven liberal Republicans, faced a more potent gas-minded group consisting of twenty-six Republicans (mostly right-wingers) and twenty Democrats (mostly from the Southwestern gas states—Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arkansas, etc.). Disavowing a filibuster, Douglas has played for time, for an additional two weeks over the planned two weeks. This is in hopes that once the "gouge" has been fully explained, public indignation will bring new Senatorial converts. Douglas himself has held the floor for four days with a book-length dissertation on "why the bill is against the public interest." Nor has the strategy altogether failed insofar as the influential Senator George of Georgia, hitherto considered pro-gas, is now leaning over to the antis. However, by politely ignoring the real drama of wirepulling and intrigue that surrounds this "high-level" debate, the debate itself has languished.

Had the gas interests pitted Senator McCarthy, or Bridges, or even Lyndon Johnson against him—if they had confronted him with some unmistakeable symbol of their power—perhaps Douglas would have been forced down from his ivory tower. But in letting his learned Democratic colleagues, Monroney, a former Scripps-Howard political writer, and Fulbright, a former president of the University of Arkansas, as their floor leaders, carry the fight against him, the pro-gas forces have completely boxed him in. Privately, Monroney admits that he cares no more about the gas producers than he does about General Motors which he is now investigating in connection with dealerships. However, he says, in his gas-dominated Oklahoma, it would be "political suicide" to oppose them. As to Fulbright, who is also up for reelection this year, the backsliding is less noticeable since he has never been strong for government regulation as he showed in his abortive Wall Street hearings last year. Douglas is very compassionate about the political realities of their apostasy. At worst, he has questioned their assumption that what is good for the gas producers is necessarily also good for their home states, pointing out that only one-eighth of the industry's windfall profits will be shared by local property owners, while the consumers will suffer there as elsewhere.

Meanwhile, the spokesmen for the producers have been counterattacking vigorously the gas utility companies, the middle men of the industry who have now joined the consumers against the producers. At first glance, the adherence of such a powerful force of trained lobbyists to this good, but threadbare, cause looks like a very good thing, indeed. Among its other boons, it has con-

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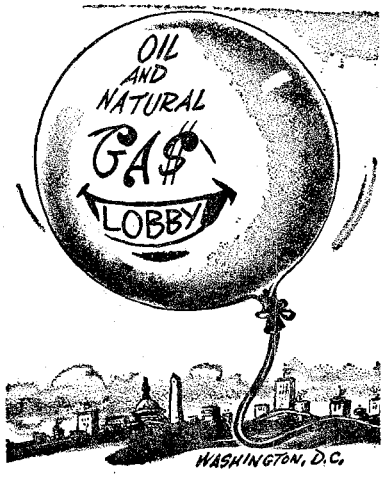
verted such stout Republicans as Wiley of Wisconsin and Potter of Michigan into vigorous opponents of the bill. However, insofar as the utilities were co-partners with the producers in the recent consumer gouge mentioned above, they make very convenient whipping boys for producer spokesmen. Monroney has been particularly eloquent on this point. In the case of the Washington Gas Light Company, he says, the cost of the natural gas at the city gate is only 30 per cent of the rate charged to the gas consumer. How does the company account for the remaining 70 per cent? In a desperate effort to prove that he is no utility-company stooge, Douglas gave the Senate Parliamentarian $5 so that local utility consumers could prosecute a case on gas rates before the local Public Utilities Commission. However, to judge by the resulting flood of letters to Washington newspapers, the apostate Monroney now looms larger as a consumer champion than the dedicated Douglas.



Partymiller in York Gazette

Consumers, Beware!

This topsy-turvy debate, of course, plays into the producers' hands, and partly explains their continued dominance in Senate cloakrooms. Nor have the Eisenhower and Stevenson straddles cleared the air. Both have declared for a bill that would favor consumers and producers alike, which is manifestly impossible. Yet in the final analysis, the failure lies chiefly on the Democratic side where liberals have, in effect, been condoning a giveaway that is more shocking than the much-touted Republican giveaway because it is also more open. It is an added indignity that oil interests helped to finance McCarthy's four-year anti-Democratic crusade. In order of priority, there will be many more important issues this session in which the old crusading Democratic tradition might reassert itself. But if the liberals continue to operate under the present rule of moderation and high-level evasion, they'll never get off the ground.

U.S.-CHINA DEADLOCK

Soviet Union's Role . . *by Harold Greer*

WITH a barrage of documents and press statements, the United States and Communist China have disclosed that their respective ambassadors have reached a deadlock after four months of private talks at Geneva. Diametrically opposed positions on the status of Formosa have been established which reveal that the principals are still as far apart as ever on the more basic questions of what *constitutes* China and therefore of who should represent China in the U. N.

For a brief span of several hours on December 13, 1955, it seemed as if this most passion-inspiring and yet most inscrutable problem of modern diplomacy had suddenly disappeared. Dr. Tingu F. Tsiang, the representative of Chiang Kai-shek at the U. N., had that afternoon vetoed the application of Outer Mongolia, thereby killing the Canadian package deal for the simultaneous admission of eighteen new members to the U. N. In the delegates' lounge, there was an undiplomatic thirst for revenge. The more moderate talked of a special session in the spring for the purpose of kicking out Tsiang; a few hotheads even wanted it done immediately, although adjournment of the Assembly was only three days away. But all agreed that Chiang, who had been amply warned, had committed suicide and that the tortuous problem of Chinese representation in the U. N. had suddenly and with a supreme irony been solved. One could almost see Chou En-lai grinning at the bar.

Then overnight things changed. Next morning, word got around that the Soviet Union had asked for an immediate meeting of the Security Council and that another classic flip-flop was in the making. And so it was. Russia, A. A. Sobolev announced, would not insist on an eighteen-or-nothing deal; it was willing to drop both Outer Mongolia and Japan. For two hours the West sought frantically for an escape; Japan had been the key to the membership deadlock, the nation which the Canadians had urged upon a reluctant Molotov so they could sell the deal in Washington. Now Japan was being relegated to the status of a pawn for future Soviet diplomacy and the West was being asked to acknowledge the fact openly. But there was no other choice: it was imperative to salvage something out of the mess created by the Chinese veto; indeed the future of the U. N. itself was at stake. Reluctantly, the West went into the Security Council and accepted the Russian proposal.

Why did the Kremlin do it? One can dismiss immediately Krishna Menon's boast that it was the result of Nehru's personal appeal to Khrushchev and Bulganin in New Delhi. Mr. Menon himself was leading the fight to kick out the Chinese Nationalists even as the Russians were telephoning for a Security Council meeting. It is also obvious

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that the Soviet delegation was well prepared; instruction from Moscow on such a complex question, involving as it did a complete reversal of the Soviet position, could not possibly have been requested and received overnight. The possibility that Nationalist China would veto Outer Mongolia was, of course, recognized at an early stage in the negotiations and the Russians showed themselves, in their talks with the Canadians, to be as alive to it as anyone. The explanation for the "sudden" Soviet shift must therefore be that the Kremlin was prepared to deal with the situation which in fact arose.

THE ELEMENTS in that situation were three: world-wide disappointment that the deal had fallen through, suspicion that the U. S. was really to blame, and a burning general desire for revenge upon the Nationalist Chinese. From the Soviet point of view, this required that Russia retaliate against the Chinese (i. e., American) veto, that it attempt to grab world applause for the salvage operation, and that it take the heat off Nationalist China. The sixteen-nation, no-Japan package did all of these things at one stroke and one can assume, without believing the Russians are diplomatic supermen, that the Kremlin planned it that way. Moscow had simply made a routine estimate of what was likely to happen if the original agreement was violated and who was likely to violate it.

There is now no pressure for the expulsion of the Chinese Nationalists which the U. S. cannot contain for some time to come. While the number of governments who believe the job should be done as quickly as possible has of course grown, few of them are so anti-American as to wish to embarrass the U. S. during an election year, or so foolish as to disturb the slow but steady current toward seating Peking by forcing the Republican Administration into a still more rigid position. It is therefore probable that at the next U. N. Assembly, the U. S. will again be able to carry by a substantial majority its annual motion that the question of Chinese representation not be considered for the duration of the sessions.

That Soviet policy should be instrumental in bringing about this

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Generalissimo We Unleashed

further delay is surprising only to those who have taken seriously past Kremlin fulminations on behalf of Peking. Actually, Moscow has demonstrated time and again that it dreads the day when Peking comes into the U. N. The Chinese Communists could hardly have had a worse friend in court. Moscow's crude walkouts of 1948 and 1949 only strengthened U. S. opposition to Peking's entry, as the Russians must have known it would. When the Korean War made the whole question academic, the Kremlin persisted in needling the West, and especially the U. S., with silly diatribes, ostensibly on Peking's behalf. But when the Korean armistice removed the stigma of aggression, Soviet tactics changed drastically. Too many people were ready to agree, apparently, with what the Russians had been saying. Moscow now began to soft-pedal the issue; its spokesmen at the U. N. made brief, rather innocuous statements for the record—indeed, there hasn't been a real Russian rouser in favor of Peking for three years. Most significantly, the Soviet Union hasn't made a single serious attempt to unseat the Chinese Nationalists via the credentials committee, an adjunct of the General Assembly which must endure the annual embarrassment of agreeing that the Nationalists represent some 600,000,000 Chinese people.

Moscow's worries are at least understandable. As things stand now, it is able to exercise some control over its ally, although by no means as much as Senator William Knowland would like the American public to think. But Peking in the U. N. would be another matter. Here would be the first effective central government the mainland of China has had in centuries, a government which has already secured its northern and southern gates against powerful foes, a government, moreover, which is showing alarming evidence of being able to make communism work—something which the Russians have not tried in twenty years. What effect would the presence and participation of such a government in the world organization have on the monolithic Soviet structure? On Communist ideological leadership? What additional magnetism would it have for the groping, underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa? What internationally upsetting revenges would it seek upon the Americans?

DIPLOMACY has only one answer to these questions, regardless of whether it be Communist or Western: proceed slowly, bide for time, attempt to control the situation as best you can. This is the response the Russians have made; it is the response the U. S. has made in seeking, for the past year, a rapprochement with Peking; it is the response the Canadians made by their proposal that all nations seeking admission to the U. N. should be admitted except those for whom a question of unification exists. If this proposal had been accepted, the principle of universality of membership would not only have been recognized for the first time, it would have been put into effect. Only the divided countries of Germany, Korea and Vietnam, Switzerland (which doesn't want to join) and Red China (which both sides admit to be an issue of representation rather than admission) would have been excluded from the organization. It would, however, have created a U. N. whose incompleteness with respect to the Chinese people would have been glaring—an incompleteness which everyone expected would be corrected in short order.

The exclusion of Japan has now destroyed both the principle of universality and the value of the Canadian approach. Moscow has retained in Japan a most important means of controlling the situation. Nor is American policy sufficiently devel-

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oped as yet to handle the issue adequately. The Canadians took special pains to inform Washington on what they were doing and to make sure the United States understood the eighteen-nation package deal in all its objectives and ramifications. They thought they had succeeded. But at the height of the crisis in December, when the consequences of Chiang's veto threat began to dawn on Secretary Dulles, he suddenly summoned the Canadian minister in Washington to his office, bawled him out for not having kept the U. S. informed, and actually accused the Canadian government of following "the Communist line." He apparently had not read newspaper reports or those of his own subordinates and had misunderstood or forgotten a conversation he himself had on the subject with L. B. Pearson, Canadian Foreign Minister, in Ottawa in September.

HOW, then, do Peking's prospects stand? The fact there are four or five countries among the sixteen new members who would vote for the mainland government and against the Nationalists is neither here nor there. This is not an issue which can be solved by out-balloting the U. S., even if one accepts the legitimate argument that U. S. veto power cannot be used. Its solution, rather, must depend either on a deal between the opposing Chinese factions, or upon the completion of a genuine rapprochement between Peking and Washington. The first is out of the question as long as Chiang Kai-shek is alive, although one hears frequently of continuing contacts between the mainland and the lower echelons on Formosa. The second is making very slow progress indeed, as the recent publication of documents on the ambassadorial talks in Geneva shows.

What has been lacking so far is a recognition by both sides that Chinese representation in the U. N. is one of the issues involved in any reconciliation. The U. S. simply is not prepared to admit that it is, and the Chinese Communists, contrary to the general impression that they are breaking their necks to get into the U. N., do not believe that they have to. This correspondent, in a lengthy off-the-record interview with Wang Ping-nam at the 1954 Geneva conference, can testify to the supreme unconcern he showed over the question. Eventually, Peking believes, enough governments will have recognized the Central People's government to vote it into the U. N.; time is on their side and they can afford to wait. Their pride will never permit them to admit they are dependent upon the U. S. in this regard.

Nevertheless, both sides are vitally interested in a Formosa settlement, which is really the representation problem in another form. With the signing of its mutual security treaty with Chiang, Washington began a policy of divorcing Formosa from the mainland. If this can be achieved, it would be but a short leap, with the passage of time, to recognition of the mainland government and agreement to its representation in the U. N. Mr. Dulles' demand that Peking agree to a renunciation of force in the Formosa area has no meaning unless it is part of the divorce proceedings. The Chinese realize this and Wang Ping-nam has fought it at every turn in the Geneva talks; the thesis that China has not the right to "liberate" its own territory—that is, that Formosa does not belong to China, and the U. S. therefore has the right to enter into a defense treaty with the Formosan government—is precisely what Peking "absolutely cannot accept."

On the one hand, the American approach would lead eventually to two Chinas (really a government of China and a government of Formosa) in the U. N. On the other hand, Peking says, naturally enough, there is only one China and you're looking at it; Formosa is a Chinese province (even the Nationalists admit that) and it will have nothing to do with the "two Chinas" thesis.

Herblock in Washington Post

"Now, how did I get into this one?"

Peking's solution is, of course, the tidier one. In particular, it would avoid the fantastic problem of reorganizing the Security Council to take account of Peking's presence. The permanent members of the Council are named in the charter, which can only be revised with the approval of the permanent members. The Council is master of its own procedure, and while procedural questions are not subject to the veto, it is doubtful whether a majority of its members could argue that the question of who represents China is simply procedural. If the Chinese Communists alone were represented in the General Assembly, it would still be difficult legally to kick Dr. Tsiang off the Security Council, but he could at least be stopped by the guard at the door. If, however, there were two Chinese groups in the Assembly, each claiming to represent China, Dr. Tsiang could not be prevented from taking his Council seat and this would be intolerable to Peking.

THERE is, happily, a way out of this dilemma, although neither side has thus far shown the slightest willingness to make the necessary concessions. Legally, Peking has nothing but a claim to Formosa and Chiang Kai-shek is there by squatters' rights only. Title to the land was ceded by Japan under the Japanese peace treaty and now rests jointly with the powers who fought Japan and signed the treaty. The principal powers are committed by the Yalta agreement to turn Formosa over "to China." A U. N. trusteeship, continuing the present local government and recognizing Peking's claim through a place as a trustee, would therefore seem to be an appropriate way for settling Formosa's status for the relative future.

Both sides have commented scornfully on this proposal in the past. But Peking is going to have to realize that it must make some concessions, especially since no one is seriously insisting any more upon Korean unification as the price for U. N. membership. And Mr. Dulles is going to have to realize that he cannot carry his friends with him much longer. At the moment, an impasse has been reached, and the pressures of interested third parties in favor of a compromise will have to be brought to bear.

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MIRAGE FORTRESS

Illusion of Defense . . *by Richard S. Leghorn*

[*Matthew Josephson's brilliant series on* The Big Guns, *which was concluded in last week's issue, laid the foundation for a continuing effort by* The Nation *to analyze the effectiveness—and the consequences—of our stupendous defense budget. In this article Mr. Leghorn, a colonel in the Air Force Reserve and manager of the European division of Eastman Kodak, poses the question: Are we wasting billions preparing for the* last *war instead of the* next *one? In a forthcoming issue, Walter Millis will discuss our military-reserve system.*]

AN "industrial mobilization base" is that part of a country's peacetime economic structure which, in case of war, can expand the production of armaments. In this country the preservation of a broad mobilization base is considered so vital to our national security that it dominates national economic policy, including foreign trade. Indeed, with the single exception of export controls on the shipment of strategic goods, all justification for trade restrictions imposed in the name of national security rests on this basic concept.

Experts differ on the best means of preserving the mobilization base. Persuasive arguments have been advanced that trade restrictions weaken rather than strengthen it. There are those who hold that the base should not be restricted to the United States but should be built and maintained collectively throughout the community of Western nations. *But the thesis itself—the assumption of the over-riding importance of a vast mobilization base—is rarely challenged.* Yet if, as is generally agreed, the advent of nuclear weapons has revolutionized war, does not this fact call logically for a revolution in our thinking about the way to *prepare* for the possibility of war?

In World Wars I and II, both "total conventional" wars, the mobilization of our industrial strength was the decisive element in victory. We learned two lessons from these wars: the modern total conventional war is a long war, and the side which has a greater ability to build and transport armaments to fighting fronts will win it. But are these lessons valid for the future? In this connection it is useful to classify possible future wars into three categories: general war such as a NATO-Soviet conflict; limited war, such as in Korea; and guerrilla war, as in Malaya.

No responsible authority expects that a general war can be anything but nuclear. It is also agreed that a nuclear war will be short. Therefore a vast mobilization base for it will be valueless.

As for guerrilla wars, they will probably not be nuclear and they probably will be long. But only very limited arms production for them will be needed, and it can hardly be argued that a mobilization base of the sort under discussion is essential.

This leaves the limited warfare of the Korean type. In such a conflict the U. S. has made no secret of the fact that it is planning to use "tactical" atomic weapons. Indeed, the West's readiness to use them will in itself prove a deterrent to such wars, just as the nuclear bomb has been established as a deterrent to a general war. Beyond that, the use of atomic weapons is the only sure way the West has of stopping superior Soviet-Chinese conventional arms at tolerable cost. Also, the use of nuclear weapons in any war, even the limited one, is fast becoming inevitable. This is primarily because the Soviets already have, and the Chinese may soon have tactical atomic weapons. Because our opponent may use them, we would have to disperse our defending troops on the battlefield. But to give our dispersed troops enough firepower to repel the aggression, we would ourselves have to use nuclear weapons. The fact that both sides possess the weapons virtually assures their use in war.

But can nuclear weapons be used in *limited* war without precipitating a *general* war? One answer might be found in a clear declaration by the United States and its Allies that, in repelling aggression by conventional armed forces, the West would use nuclear or chemical weapons only for the *defensive* protection of its own territory; that is, on territory to the rear of the *de facto* pre-aggression political boundary, or in the open seas.

But whether or not this particular limitation on warfare is adopted, the West must soon debate just how it will limit its response to future armed aggression. To continue a declared policy of "no limits" is to maintain our present ridiculous posture of appearing to threaten "massive retaliation" to every aggression, no matter what the circumstances. This is not unlike threatening capital punishment for petty thievery or even traffic violations. Furthermore, such a policy invites countermassive retaliation, and we could end up with mutual national suicide arising from relatively minor international infractions. More hopefully, provided we establish clear policies on limitations, the massive

The Fast War

Washington

The Administration has adopted the concept that any new general war would be a short one. This is the meaning of Air Secretary Quarles's new directive seeking to have surviving defense plants ready with tools and inventories to take over production in the first hours after nuclear attack. The theory behind this concept is that the ability of the nation to withstand the first thirty or sixty days of nuclear attack and retaliation would be a far more critical factor than its ability to sustain a mobilization months later when the war might have been decided.

—Washington Post, January 2.

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retaliation policy could become a deterrent to the spreading of limited war to general war as well as a deterrent to the outbreak of an initial general war. In the absence of policies designed to limit war, we will again face the frustrations and dissensions of Korea, where we overlimited ourselves severely at times, and underlimited ourselves at others. Once the passions and pace of conflict take over, it is too late to decide politically what the limitations should be.

Even aside from the short-war argument, there are other points to consider. In case of war with Russia, what would the first explosion of an atomic weapon on United States soil do to the American mobilization base? Would our industrial employees, so many of whom have cars, remain at their lathes or would they flee in panic to the country? Are not civilian-defense authorities virtually insuring flight by advocating evacuation as the only recourse in case of a nuclear-bomb attack? Is the mobilization-base concept compatible with civilian-defense policy? And even beyond this, would not the delivery of a hundred big bombs on city targets demolish half our integrated industry and bring meaningful production to an early halt? What value is a mobilization base then?

Should not these questions be answered before we continue to restrict trade in behalf of the mobilization-base theory? Is it really necessary or advisable for us to stockpile materials at the rate of almost $1 billion a year, to continue to pay for defense plants and equipment in "mothballs" or operating at inefficiently low-production levels, to forego tax receipts due to defense writeoffs, and to pay vast subsidies to maintain production skills for presumed use after D-day?

There is one area where some sort of mobilization base will undoubtedly one day have value. Since 1946 we have been relying principally upon air-atomic superiority for security. There is a possibility that this reliance may be changed in the future to one dependent on a system of armaments control yet to be evolved and proved. But even if such an agreement should prove effective and lead ultimately to a reduction of air-atomic armaments, we would still need to protect ourselves against possible violation by other powers. The necessary protection could be found in a sort of automatic rearmament reflex composed of standby funds and air-atomic arms-production potential. But it is very doubtful if this sort of mobilization base would bear much, if any, resemblance to the one we are now maintaining.

Herblock in Washington Post

"Don't fear—I can always pull you back."

THE present mobilization-base concept not only fails to *strengthen* national security; its effects may be actually *damaging*. Consider the following:

First, does not every defense dollar spent on the mobilization base mean one dollar less for our forces-in-being (our army, navy and air force), which all authorities acknowledge to be our principal immediate security reliance? Can we logically search for savings or cutbacks in the Defense Department without launching an even more exhaustive search within the Office of Defense Mobilization?

Second, can we really justify the enervating distortions and restrictions in the free-world economy which are caused by defense tariff walls and certain trade and exchange controls undertaken in behalf of the mobilization base? And is it logical to construct free-world defenses on *collective* political and military power without simultaneously building *collective* economic power as a base? Is it wise to continue indefinitely trying to rest the West's collective military and political strength on the economy of one nation—the United States?

Third, although the buoyant United States economy could continue to carry the expensive luxury of a broad mobilization base for a long time to come, could Europe do so? If the European countries were to be relieved of the burden of financing a mobilization base with which to fight another World War II—and World War III, if it comes, will be quite different—could not their economies be measurably strengthened and American defense-aid costs be trimmed?

Fourth, in the long-term ideological conflict with communism, now that superiority in the arms race is no longer so meaningful, may not the competition be fought out primarily in the economic field? Signs of such a development are already apparent. And in the light of this possibility should we not make greater use of our huge trading, capital and technical resources and place more reliance on world economic development as the solution to many of the world's ills—political and otherwise? While the maintenance of military strength—the continuation of graduated deterrents to various types of aggression—are necessary for the nonce, we cannot look to the military to solve the central problem of our time.

BECAUSE Soviet areas of opportunity are changing, Khrushchev should be "believed" when he renounces revolt and war in the West and affirms that Communist goals will be sought in "competitive coexistence." This competition means to him that economic and subversive warfare offer the greatest opportunities for future Communist expansion.

Has the United States yet developed a satisfactory approach to this long-term problem? "Containment" is too negative a concept, and "Liberation" is surely premature and in any case a misnomer, implying as it does the imposition of change from without. What we must develop is a strategy for enforced, competitive peace which would in the long run alter communism's aims or render the movement impotent because the people are offered something better. Involved in such a strategy on the military side is the preservation of the military "standoff"—the series of graduated deterrents already mentioned, up to and including the ultimate of massive retaliation, at least until such time as a trustworthy

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arms-control agreement can be evolved. On the economic side, the uncritical application of our mobilization-base concept has prevented the development of a "positive" trade policy which could challenge the Communists on their own, new-chosen ground. When last year Congress granted the President, for the first time in ten years, moderate authority to decrease tariffs, it also gave him authority to impose quotas if imports "threaten to impair the national security." But there was no explanation of what constitutes impairment of the national security. Even our "bold new program" of technical and economic aid to underdeveloped countries has suffered, for the shift in foreign aid from development to defense needs reflects, in some measure, the desire to export the mobilization-base notion to the rest of the world.

Clearly a searching inquiry is needed into the possibly very damaging effects on our whole security system of the mobilization-base concept. This is a job for Congress as well as the Executive. The Congress must explore the ramifications of these questions to provide the Executive with political guidance in an area which has such broad implications for many basic national policies.

MIRACLE IN THE BOWERY

The Catholic Worker . . *by Dan Wakefield*

THERE'S A MIRACLE down at the edge of New York's Bowery. Its address is 223 Chrystie Street, its guiding spirit is Dorothy Day, and its name (for this miracle is so concrete it has a name and address) is the Catholic Worker movement.

The men and women who stand in the daily breadlines at the Catholic Worker "Hospitality House" on Chrystie Street, and those who live in its rooms, are not all Catholics and not all workers. A few, like the aims of the movement, are pacifists and anarchists. Some are former monks. Some are former soldiers. Some are alcoholics. Some are just hungry.

When the one-cent monthly *Catholic Worker* newspaper was born in May of 1933, its first editorial announced that it would not be restricted to the people of any one religion or political belief, any one color of skin or cut of clothes, but that it was

> . . . . For those who are sitting on benches in the warm spring sunlight.
>
> For those who are huddling in shelters trying to escape the rain.
>
> For those who are walking the streets in the all but futile search for work.
>
> For those who think there is no hope for the future, no recognition of their plight, the Catholic Worker is being edited.

The 2,500 circulation of the paper's first issue rocketed to 25,000 in the first three months, and 100,000 by the end of the year. And it was during that time that the Catholic Workers moved from the realm of practicality to something that is, in our time, miraculous: the writers of the eloquent words decided that words were not enough.

They began running ads and appeals for clothing and food to supply those men who were sitting on the benches. They rented rooms for people who had no roof; and the homeless, the hungry, who came to their doors were given bread as well as words. As the paper and its radical notions of peace and equality spread across the country, "Houses of Hospitality" sprang up in scattered cities from coast to coast with kitchens and beds for the "immediate relief of those who are in need."

Today there are 300 people being fed in the breadline at Chrystie Street, a young associate editor of the *Catholic Worker* is hitch-hiking through the South to gather stories for a series of articles supporting integration, and on Friday nights the house at the edge of the Bowery is crowded with friends and residents and strangers who have come to hear the weekly speaker and talk and ask questions.

DOROTHY DAY was a writer and reporter in the twenties, and Malcolm Cowley remarked in *The Exile's Return* that all the gamblers in a Greenwich Village bar admired her because she could drink any one of them under the table. She joined the I. W. W., served as an editor on *The Masses*, became a Catholic, reported the "hunger march" in Washington in 1932, and wondered what she could do about what she saw. She prayed and came home and found Peter Maurin, a French peasant and migrant laborer who had ideas about life and economics and a plan for the poor. Maurin's vision was one of reality that emphasized concrete help for the poor in the form of "Hospitality Houses" (like the one on Chrystie Street), collective farms (like the one that now bears his name on Staten Island and helps supply bread for the Chrystie Street House), round-table discussions and a paper for the men in the street. Someone told him to see Dorothy Day.

They started the *Catholic Worker* in the kitchen of Dorothy Day's apartment in 1933 and sold the first issues themselves in Union Square. The way the circulation soared to 150,000 by 1936, it might have seemed that the paper had an easy road ahead. But the *Catholic Worker* did not begin with an easy idea. The founders were Roman Catholics, and the first editorial had to ask itself and its readers "Is it possible to be radical without being atheistic?" It proved possible, yes—but not without extreme difficulties. There still are many voices of opposition from within the church, even though the Pope has sent a special blessing to

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all who are concerned with this Catholic group. Some bishops and priests have personally contributed but others have forbidden the paper to be sold at their church, and Catholics who were shocked at the pacifist-anarchist trend of the *Catholic Worker* have attacked and beaten its salesmen in the street.

Refusal to compromise pacifist principles, not only between wars but during wars, scared off subscribers in droves. The paper managed to alienate most of its politically conscious readers by condemning both sides in the Spanish Revolution. In her beautiful autobiography, *The Long Loneliness,* Dorothy Day admitted that "Ours is indeed an unpopular front." The unpopularity reached its extreme in World War II, when circulation dropped to a low of 30,000. Although the pacifist point of view remained unchanged throughout the Korean War, circulation has climbed back to 65,000. Now the paper is campaigning against the current nuclear test explosions. And again the Catholic Workers aren't satisfied with words.

LAST June, Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy, an associate editor and long-time contributor, decided to protest the nationwide civil-defense air-raid drill. They called on other pacifist friends to join them in City Hall Park at the time of the "raid" with anti-war leaflets and posters. When the sirens blew on June 15, they were in the group of twenty-nine people arrested for disobeying the New York State Emergency Defense Act. Miss Day, Hennacy and five others pleaded guilty. Their sentences were suspended, together with those of nineteen pacifists who pleaded "not guilty" and were found guilty by Magistrate Hyman Bushel last December.

In handing down the suspended sentence, Bushel talked at length about how he was influenced by the many fine things he had heard about Dorothy Day and the work she was doing on Chrystie Street. She stood unmoving and inconspicuous among the pacifists who faced the magistrate and listened in silence as he gave his decision. When the session was over Ammon Hennacy nodded thoughtfully and rendered his own summation of the case.

"You see," he said, "Dorothy swamped 'em with her spirituality."

There's no way to join the Catholic Worker group. No one can quit. There are no membership cards, no dues, no buttons to slip in the coat lapel. People just come, and if they leave, well, others will come to take their place.

Ammon Hennacy served a term in Atlanta prison for refusing to register for the draft in 1917, spent seven months in solitary for organizing a strike to protest the poor prison food, and kept his courage by reading the Bible and the notes that were sent him from Alexander Berkman. When Atlanta let him go he wandered and worked as a laborer throughout the West, got a regular job as a social worker, and didn't see a copy of the *Catholic Worker* until a priest gave him one in Milwaukee in the mid-thirties. Hennacy was what he called a "non-church Christian" and a radical, but he liked what the *Catholic Worker* had to say and sold it in the street, and wrote for it sixteen years before he joined the Catholic Church. His anarchist-pacifist views are against taxation, so he pays no taxes. When tax-time comes he paints a picket sign and goes down to Washington to walk around the White House, and maybe sells a few *Catholic Workers* while he's at it.

Now—barring trials and picketing trips—he spends part of his day at a desk in the *Catholic Worker* office and another part selling the papers on streets around the city. He stands on corners from Union Square to Broadway, a gray-haired man in a checked flannel shirt, one tooth in his mouth and a million words.

"I spoke to the 'Quakes' up the street," he said not long ago. "Had a real good meeting. Next month I'm going to talk to the Newman Club up at Columbia. And then at Rutgers, before I go West again. I'm going out West before long to work with the Mormons and then maybe write about it."

WHEN the speaker of the evening is finished with his talk at the Friday night meetings in the Chrystie Street House, everyone files down the squeaky, narrow stairs to the kitchen for coffee and conversation. The long wooden tables come alive with faces that are anxious to hear and have their say about the night's speech—whether it was given by a priest or a Socialist, a migrant worker or a Yeats authority.

The young faces say by their presence that the *Catholic Worker* is very much alive. Bob Steed discovered it in Memphis, Tennessee, and sold copies (with the front-page emblem of Jesus embracing a Negro worker and a white worker who are shaking hands) to Negroes and whites through the South. Now, at twenty-three, he is one of the associate editors. Helen Russell, who read the paper in a convent in California, came across the country on a bus to work with the group in New York. She met Mary Ann McCoy and Eileen Fantino, two other young girls who were drawn to Chrystie Street, and last spring the three of them moved to East Harlem to help the children of the tenements there—not as "social workers" who come around during the day for a while, but as friends who are there all the time.

The radical spirit of America that was conjured up so briefly and dramatically at the last meeting of the C. I. O. before its merger with the A. F. of L.—the spirit of the Wobblies and Big Bill Haywood and Debs and Joe Hill that seemed like a ghost at the final banquet—is still a living force for the Catholic Worker group. The poverty-stricken men and women whose existence society denies and has no room for are being sheltered and fed; the big moral issues of our time are being faced with words and action; television sets are set aside for the almost outmoded habit of discussion. It's all going on right now, in 1956, and it is hard to understand it as less than a miracle.

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The Negro Fights on Two Fronts

HOW FAR THE PROMISED LAND? By Walter White. The Viking Press. $3.50.

By Hubert T. Delany

NO CONTEMPORARY of the late Walter White used his talents more effectively in the field of civil rights. Even his critics acknowledge that he will live in the history of our country as a leader who awoke the conscience of America to the unpardonable, unethical and un-American manner in which it treats its Negro minority.

How Far The Promised Land? is one of the most interesting and informative books of the half dozen that have come from his pen. Mr. White's last work is not merely a summary of the efforts of the American Negro to achieve first-class citizenship in education, housing, health, voting—the right to work and the right to fight for equality. It attempts also to explain why the Negro has achieved so much progress toward fifst-class citizenship, especially within the last two decades.

Mr. White summarized his pride in being an American—even to the point of being defensive about America—when he said, on returning from a world tour in 1951: "It is important for us to let the world know that there have been many gains.... Outside of the United States the world is studiously being kept unaware of the not inconsiderable progress which has been made since the Civil War . . . while the stories of violence and denial of justice to the American Negro are being well publicized." In the early militant and impatient days of his career, it was the author himself who made propaganda from just such stories as these of which he now complains. He went into the South to investigate and publicize to the world the horrible cases of violence which he—posing as a white man—could get in the most horrid detail.

However, in 1951 it was he—a Negro and the Executive Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.—and not the government, who felt compelled to tell the story of Negro achievement as a balance to the propaganda being used against America abroad. He had been told that whenever the Voice of America cited an example of such achievement, the broadcast was likely to offend some Southern Congressmen, and the director would receive telephone calls and letters threatening legislative reprisals. Edward Barrett, then Assistant Secretary of State, told the author, "The result is that I have a gun-shy staff, which writes about the race question with an eye on how its words will read to a bigoted Southern opponent of civil rights, and not how they will answer the honest questions of people in Asia or Africa."

THE QUESTION which naturally arises in the mind of the reader is why should the Negro—who is now fighting for and must continue to fight for first-class citizenship—tell the story of Negro achievement, if the government is prevented from doing so by congressional Southern bigots? Will the telling of the story by the Negro himself help us to reach the promised land sooner than if we wait until the government can and will tell the true story?

While the author noted that lynching has diminished to the point where it is no longer a national disgrace (though every lynching is disgraceful), he did not forget that violence is still inflicted upon the Negro in Detroit, Cicero, Trumbull Park Houses—the bombing to death of Harry Moore—bombings in Texas, Georgia, Alabama, etc. He might also have pointed out that Negroes face today a menace more sinister though less dramatic than lynching, to wit, police brutality. The facts show that thousands of Negroes have been brutally beaten and illegally killed—without warrant, though with sanction of law—by police and other law-enforcing agents in most of our metropolitan centers both North and South. From my many years of public service, both as prosecutor and judge, I am convinced that police brutality and unlawful killings at the hands of law-enforcing officers could not exist without the acquiescence of the prosecutors' offices and the judges of our courts, who too often do not look where their eyes do not choose to see.

There is never any doubt as to the anti-Communist stand of the author. He believed that the surest way for the Negro to achieve full freedom is by fighting on two fronts at the same time—i. e., fighting communism and continuing to fight to earn the right to fight for full freedom under the democratic processes of government. Walter White devotes a full chapter to Why Has the Negro Rejected Communism. In this connection he quotes Senator Lodge as saying, after hearing one of Senator Bilbo's tirades against the Negro: "If I were a Negro and had listened to the speech Bilbo just made, I am afraid I would become a Communist." After reading this, the reader may think that Mr. White is dismissing the matter very easily when he quotes as his answer to the question raised in his chapter title the statement of Major Harlan, a Negro formerly prisoner of the Chinese Communists: "Because racial segregation was being wiped out in the armed services, we were Americans, fighting for America, without distinction as to race, creed or color. We don't want to shift to another kind of dictatorship just as we're getting rid of the one from which we've suffered all these generations here in America." It is difficult to believe that we can preserve our democratic ideals and gain any lasting prestige abroad by failing to recognize that the large majority of Negroes abhor their position as second-class citizens in a country dedicated to democratic ideals.

No one—not even the author—can really predict when the goal of full freedom for the Negro will be reached, though he hoped for it within the next decade. Despite his enthusiasm over the advances made

HUBERT T. DELANY has spent thirty-two years in public service as teacher, prosecutor, tax commissioner and judge in the City of New York. He has recently retired as a justice of the Domestic Relations Court of the City of New York.

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in the last decade, neither he nor any Negro leader can fail to recognize that the time and distance to first-class citizenship for the Negro cannot be measured by how far and how fast we have traveled in the past. Rather must we set our sights on how far we yet have to go before we reach the goal of complete equality and freedom for all Americans.

Oil Around the World

THE EMPIRE OF OIL. By Harvey O'Connor. Monthly Review Press. Distributed by Citadel Press. $5.

By John Ise

MOST WRITERS of books on the oil industry confine themselves to certain restricted areas of the subject: waste, monopoly, foreign exploitation, technological developments, the story of some one company, or, perhaps, the oil industry of some particular region, as in Joe Bain's three-volume study of the oil industry in California. Harvey O'Connor courageously attacks the whole problem.

He begins with an analysis of the size of the great oil companies, and their power in domestic and foreign affairs; the division into majors and independents; the "law of the jungle"—the rule of capture—which has so often caused the hasty drilling of excess wells, overproduction and waste of oil, gas, capital and energy; the rampant speculation and swindling that have characterized oil exploitation everywhere.

Conservation, which the oil tycoons seemed to interpret as the limitation of production "to that level which assures the greatest profit to the biggest corporations," comes in for extended discussion. O'Connor traces well the efforts to get production under control. The Department of Justice frowned on limitation of production by agreement among producers; the big oil companies wanted no federal control. Finally the oil states were induced to enter into a compact to limit production to "market demand" as determined by the U. S. Bureau of Mines—whatever that means.

Estimates of various authorities as to reserves, in the United States and abroad, are given, and they are not reassuring. One of the best, that of Eugene Ayers, gives us 20 per cent of the world's total, and less than the reserves of Russia. We are already dependent on imports and will become increasingly so. On the question of imports, the oil companies are sharply divided, those with heavy foreign production favoring free imports, those who have only domestic production calling for a tariff—so that we can exhaust our reserves sooner. Pipelines, all in the hands of the majors, give them fairly tight control over the independent producers, and the pipelines are very profitable indeed, earning 25 to 33 per cent a year on capital invested.

The marketers—jobbers and operators of bulk stations, tank trucks and service stations—are faring badly, indeed losing money most of the time. The great integrated companies seem to have their part of the business so organized that the division carried on by the little fellows takes the losses; but this is common in other businesses. The remedy? Complete divorcement of the marketing divisions has been urged, and an end to contracts which force service-station men to handle only one company's products; but the "jungle" remains a jungle.

O'CONNOR tells of the emergence of oil cooperatives, domestic and international, and the efforts of the oil companies to prevent them from growing too strong, and of the strategy of the oil companies in warding off unionization. He has a cheering story of the Mexican experience with its nationalized oil company, Pemex. Two interesting chapters deal with advertising, to build up a friendly attitude on the part of the public and to promote brand loyalty, apparently a flop on both aims. He discusses the offshore oil grab, showing how the oil men fueled the Dixiecrat movement and got the oil under Eisenhower, after Truman had fought them off by every means at his command. He hints that under Secretary McKay other federal resources are likely to slip into the hands of contributors to party campaign funds. His discussion of oil control of Texas politics, and of the antics of the Texas oil tycoons, Hunt, Cullen and Murchison, grown rich through tax exemption (depletion allowance), makes a good story with ominous undertones. Murchison was not a McCarthyite, but he may not have been exaggerating when he said, "Hell, I've got ten men in Congress who are better thought of than McCarthy."

A timid or lazy man would not have tackled the story of the fight for oil abroad, but O'Connor takes up the operations and machinations of Royal Dutch Shell, Anglo-Persian, Standard of New Jersey, Standard of California, Socony, Gulf, and Sinclair in Russia, Mexico, Venezuela, Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Arabia. In Venezuela and the Near East some of the fields have proved fabulously rich, the profits fantastic, but ruling kings, shahs, sheiks and military dictators have found this out and are demanding and getting generous portions of the profits—one-half in some cases; and ever and anon someone raises the cry for nationalization, which makes the oil magnates nervous, particularly since Iran nationalized her oil industry and threw Anglo-Iranian out (at least for a while).

American companies treat King Ibn Saud generously. His income, reputed to be between $140 and $170 millions a year, easily supports him in style to which he is not accustomed. Our State Department has always supported the oil companies as vigorously as it dares, but in present world tensions it cannot go too far.

Along with vigorous competition for choice leases, there appear to be friendly agreements or cartels among the oil companies abroad, and these present a problem of regulation. Our Department of Justice is not inclined to be too severe because we need the oil the companies are bringing us, and the British are part owners in the Anglo-Iranian Company.

O'CONNOR'S book will be criticized, and with some justice, as exaggerating the power of the big oil companies. Standard of New Jersey may be rated our greatest corporation in some respects, but its profits are much less than those of General Motors—now running at the rate of a billion a year. The oil industry is

JOHN ISE, John Jay Whitney Professor of Economics at Goucher College, is the author of United States Forest Policy *and* United States Oil Policy.

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less highly centralized than some of our other industries; and the treatment of the oil marketers is surely not worse than the treatment of automobile agencies. The power of big business is growing almost everywhere. In the oil industry, there simply is no good place for small unintegrated companies.

Yet, on the whole, O'Connor is fair and judicious in his conclusions. There is far more truth in his book than in most books on the industry, and he writes very well indeed.

The Ways of Modern Science

WHAT IS SCIENCE? Twelve Eminent Scientists and Philosophers Explain their Various Fields to the Layman. Edited by James R. Newman. Simon and Schuster. $4.95.

By Ernest Nagel

NO ONE today can ignore the unprecedented transformations of the human scene which scientific technology has been effecting at an increasing pace during the past few centuries. Nevertheless, the deepening theoretical understanding of both inanimate and animate nature, which is the source of these more obvious changes, is on the whole a closed book to the great majority of mankind. The full potentialities of science as the supreme liberalizing agent in modern times, and of scientific method as a way of intellectual life, have therefore not been fully realized.

It is indeed ironical that, despite the indisputable power of scientific inquiry for attaining competently warranted theoretical vision, there should be in our own day a growing distrust of scientific reason, and a pervasive tendency to embrace fundamentally anti-rational philosophies of life. Much of this must undoubtedly be attributed to the complexity and abstractness of recent science; and the fact must be faced that in the end there is no substitute for the difficult intellectual labor needed for mastering modern scientific theory. Much can be done, nevertheless, to smooth the path even for the layman who seeks an intelligent familiarity with the spirit and the conclusions of current scientific research. Much can also be done to make clear that, far from being an obstacle to the flowering of the human spirit, science is perhaps the most effective instrument for achieving the human good, and that the alternatives to scientific method as a way of acquiring responsibly held knowledge are either deliberately cultivated ignorance or pretentious quackery.

The present volume is therefore a welcome addition to the literature of science addressed primarily to laymen which seeks to realize these objectives. Its dozen essays are designed, not to overwhelm the reader with cheap accounts of the "wonders of science," but to acquaint him with the state of theoretical research in a number of fundamental scientific disciplines. The range of the essays extends from the bold speculations of recent physical cosmology, through the central ideas of nuclear physics and modern chemistry, to discussions of basic theoretical notions in geology, psychology and social studies.

Several of the contributors here are especially successful in unfolding the scope and organization of their subjects: those of Professor Bondi on current conceptions of the physical universe, of Sir Edmund Whittaker on mathematics and logic, of Julian Huxley on the mutual implications of genetics and evolutionary theory, of Professor Kluckhohn on the multi-directional character of anthropological inquiry, and of Dr. Bronowski's exceptionally fascinating discussion of cybernetics and information theory. Some of the interpretations advanced in various chapters (e. g., on biology and on psychoanalysis) are doubtless highly debatable; but even the most critical and dissenting reader will acknowledge that the book offers a rich but digestible intellectual feast.

A special virtue of some of the essays is that they not only supply sheer information about the content of current science, but also take the reader behind the scenes by offering him suggestive comments on scientific method itself. Thus, Drs. Bondi, Bronowski and Condon all stress in

ERNEST NAGEL is a member of the Department of Philosophy at Columbia University.

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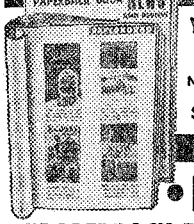

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one way or another the role which a sensitive perception and extension of analogies plays in the construction of fundamental theories. Nor can a reader of their essays put them down without a vivid realization of the need for a creative, selective and disciplined imagination in basic scientific research. In short, Mr. Newman, who has edited the volume and has provided biographical introductions for his contributors as well as useful bibliographies for further study on special subjects, merits congratulations upon a well-conceived and well-executed undertaking.

Love and Grace

THE LAMB. By Francois Mauriac. Translated by Gerard Hopkins. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $3.

By Lyall H. Powers

IT IS a pleasure for those of us who share in some degree Graham Greene's enthusiasm for his French counterpart to find that another—the most recent—of Mauriac's novels is now available in a commendable English translation by Gerard Hopkins. *The Lamb* is typical Mauriac: a struggle between the flesh and the spirit is the theme; the saving grace of love is the lesson implicit. The drama unfolds, or rather erupts, in the familiar setting of the Landes of southwestern France—that region which Mauriac has repeatedly represented as a sort of French Wasteland. The principal actors are not strangers: we met Brigitte Pian and the young lovers, Michele Pian and Jean de Mirbel, some fifteen years ago in *Woman of the Pharisees*. In fact the new novel is the fulfillment of a promise made by Mauriac in the earlier novel to write one day the story of Michele and Jean, the story of "this love, this interminable storm."

THE LAMB presents us with the very "eye" of this storm. Like his master, Racine, Mauriac prefers to open his drama at its climax—or just *after* its climax. In *The Lamb*, the main action is related, with the admirable economy and concision that mark the best of Mauriac's work, in a series of flashbacks. The crisis is brought about by the entry of Xavier Dartigelongue into the lives of Michele and Jean at the moment when their marriage is about to collapse. The program confronting Xavier—the typical problem of the Mauriac novel—is to restore the lost love, to "save" the de Mirbel marriage, in effect to lead Jean to a state of grace. Michele's comforting words to her husband, "you are cured, it's all over," do more than assure us that Jean's ability to love his wife has been restored—they say also that Jean has been saved, in the Christian sense of the term. Jean's impotence is a metaphor to express his lack of spiritual love—the physical symptom of his spiritual disease. In truth, the novel as a whole is a metaphorical statement of the Christian problem of attaining grace, of the saving of a soul.

At times the allegory stiffens, the metaphor wears thin—when Xavier makes a painful journey of mercy carrying a ladder, we are too much aware of the wounded feet and the thorns. But Mauriac is generally delicate, if not always clear, and the very ambiguity of the conclusion of the story—accident? murder? suicide?—is evidence of his command over his material, of the integrity which obliged him to return twice to the recalcitrant Therese Desqueyroux in an endeavor to lead that sinner to grace—without neglecting the demands of his art.

This will explain, if not excuse in some eyes, the lack of camera clarity in *The Lamb*. Certainly Jean and Michele and Xavier are not completely real—or entirely understandable—characters, nor do they dwell in a *real* world. But we ought not to seek that kind of reality in a novel concerned with poetic truth. *The Lamb* treats of a more abstract reality, and insofar as it is successful it has meaning, not only for Catholic readers, but for all of us who can appreciate the saving grace of love.

LYALL H. POWERS, instructor in English at the University of Wisconsin, did graduate work in French literature at the Sorbonne.

The Artist As Man

THREE LOVES OF DOSTOEVSKY. By Marc Slonim. Rinehart and Company. $4.

By Harold Clurman

THIS concise and lucid biography of the great Russian novelist lays chief emphasis on his love life. The three dominant loves—they form the three parts of Mr. Slonim's book—were Maria, whom Dostoevsky married out of loneliness; Apollinaria, with whom he had an extended affair out of desire; Anna, whom he married out of need. There were sundry other "loves" of a more vulgar character.

The book's fascination is in its special stress. But this biography is probably not your best bet if you have never before read a book on Dostoevsky or if you are unacquainted with the novelist's work. An artist, I submit, is not to be comprehended through his life: his work *creates* a life—a life that extends beyond his personality and which becomes a psychological, historical, social and esthetic fact for those who come in contact with it. The artist's world has a wider horizon than his personal one. That is one reason why it becomes necessary for a man to become an artist.

I do not say this in contradiction to any thesis stated or implied in Mr. Slonim's book—fortunately, he insists on none. I merely report a certain uneasiness on reading his book, a reaction I frequently experience when emphasis is placed on the "romantic" aspect of an artist's life, particularly when the biographical data is couched in the shorthand and schematization of the psychoanalytic vocabulary.

"Repetitions, postscripts, exclamations and coy hints not infrequently add an unwholesome, almost pathological tone to these effusions" Mr. Slonim says in quoting many of Dostoevsky's love letters. Yet I could not help wondering if Dostoevsky's sexual idiosyncracies—not, I am convinced, as peculiar to him as one might suppose—are not ultimately made to appear more trivial than pathological.

Reading this book—and it is often true of biographies in which the artist's work is taken almost for granted—I had the impertinent but

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nonetheless persistent sense that, very great novelist though he was, Dostoevsky must have been a thoroughly objectionable person, whom I am nearly as glad not to have met as I am happy to have read.

In Search of Lawrence

THE LOVE ETHIC OF D. H. LAWRENCE. By Mark Spilka. Indiana University Press. $4.

By William Y. Tindall

IN A FOREWORD Mrs. Frieda Ravagli (Lawrence's widow) calls this book "pure inspiration and triumph." Such applause, inspired maybe by Mr. Spilka's earnest enthusiasm, seems to guarantee his adherence to the party line. This "fascinating" book (perhaps the thirty-eighth or fortieth on Lawrence), Mrs. Ravagli continues, "is a start at revealing his significance."

However that may be, this book differs from most of its predecessors in neglecting the life and concentrating on the five "major" novels. The omission of *The Plumed Serpent* from this canon would be more astonishing were it not plain that moral substance rather than beauty determines Mr. Spilka's choice. Indeed, his values seem not unlike those that, shaping F. R. Leavis' great tradition, embrace George Eliot and leave Joyce out. The point, however, is not the exclusiveness of Mr. Spilka's taste and judgment, but what he makes of what they tolerate.

"For some time now," Mr. Spilka says at the beginning of his argument, "it has been the custom to divide D. H. Lawrence into esthetic and prophetic halves." But Lawrence, as he will prove, was an "organicist" constructing "organic wholes," at once esthetic and prophetical. No one can quarrel with this intention.

Except for a wave or two of the hand in the direction of structure, however, Mr. Spilka comes up with another study—as his title indicates—of Lawrence as prophet. By "love ethic" Mr. Spilka means "radical commitment to spontaneous life": "At the end of *Sons and Lovers* a man is born; at the end of *The Rainbow* a woman; and in *Women in Love* a man and a woman meet and marry." *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and *The Man Who Died*, completing the canonical five, add "procreative love" to this ethical progress. Lawrence's "moral insights" have never received neater or happier summary than this. But like Leavis before him, Mr. Spilka assumes that morals assure art—an assumption that confers beauty on *Hard Times, Daniel Deronda* and the works of Horatio Alger.

How is Lawrence's demand for organic wholeness in life embodied in the organic wholeness of art? Mr. Spilka approaches this problem in his analysis of the "ritualistic" structure of a short story and in his gathering of recurrent flowers from *Sons and Lovers*. These are elements of organic wholes, to be sure, but the wholes in which they function do not emerge.

Mr. Spilka's reluctance to accost form may be due to his parochial idea of symbol, the device Lawrence used to unify and present his "ethic." Confusing symbolism with disembodied transcendentalism and stasis, Mr. Spilka unidiomatically announces Lawrence's difference from the symbolists: operating at a "different level of language than theirs," his symbols always "center around" such basic events as birth, death and resurrection. Lawrence's "relatedness," which "embarrassed critics like Tindall" misunderstand, means something profound, primitive and literal. Undismayed, the embarrassed critic still finds Lawrence's art symbolic—of a different kind from Joyce's, but symbolic none the less. As for Lawrence as prophet, dozens of yogis and Methodists have been as good. He differs from them in being a poet too, and we still await the book Mr. Spilka promised.

WILLIAM Y. TINDALL, professor of English at Columbia University, is the author of D. H. Lawrence and Susan, his Cow, The Literary Symbol *and other books, and editor of* The Later D. H. Lawrence.

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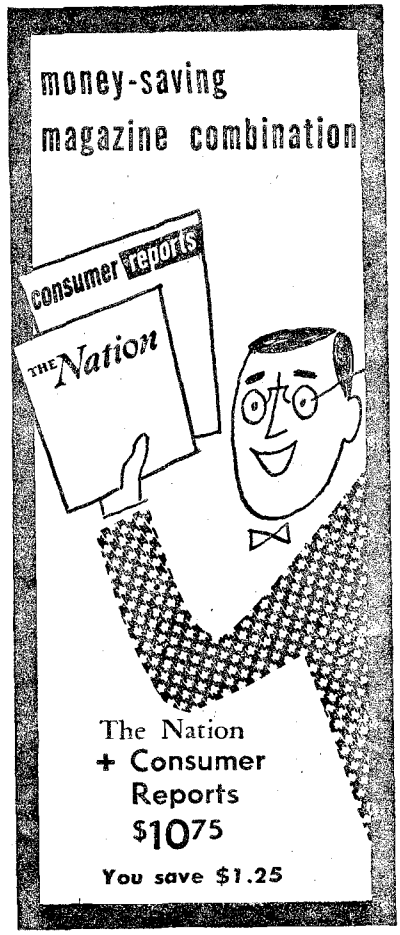

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LETTER FROM ITALY

William Weaver

IN ITALY, the opening of the opera season arouses about the same amount of public excitement as the beginning of the baseball season in America. *Appassionati,* who form an overwhelming majority of the adult population here, immediately start comparing the repertory of La Scala with that of the San Carlo, or reopen the never-settled argument about the respective merits of Italy's (and probably the world's) two best sopranos: the stately Renata Tebaldi and the dazzling Maria Meneghini Callas. Opera seats are relatively cheap here (the cheapest are about the same as for a first-run movie), but those who cannot afford to go often to the theater can still hear all the important performances on the Radio Italiana, which regularly broadcasts "live" from Italy's major opera houses.

Traditionally, the season begins the first week of December. As always, La Scala opened its doors on December 7, feast of Milan's patron Saint Ambrose. Rome's Teatro dell' Opera opened later (December 26) and Naples, earlier. The San Carlo opening at Naples, always an exciting event, this year held the excitement of near-disaster. Its *Aida* had been scheduled early so that it could engage the popular tenor Mario del Monaco as Radames. At the last minute, however, del Monaco was "indisposed" (rumor in Naples insisted that La Scala's director, who had engaged the tenor for the inaugural *Norma* there, had inspired the indisposition). The singers were nervous, the sets hideous. Only the spectacle in the boxes and foyer saved the evening: the President of the Republic was there with his suite, and Naples—traditionally monarchist—was bending over backward to be hospitable and, at the same time, to enjoy what shreds of ceremony the Republic affords.

Having opened the San Carlo, President Gronchi was more or less obliged to go to Milan for the opening of La Scala. Here, he attended a thrilling *Norma,* with Callas in the title role. Up in the hot, close-packed gallery, Callas fans and Tebaldi fans (assisted by a strong pro-del Monaco pressure group) increased the tension of the evening with some loud lobbying for their favorites.

Demonstrations which would not have seemed out of place at a Chicago Presidential convention followed every act and every air, and sometimes little ripples of applause greeted a particularly well-turned bit of recitative, or murmurs of indignation underlined a high note considered not quite squarely hit (there were very few of these). Best of all were the long duets between Norma and Adalgisa, which part was sung by mezzo-soprano Giulietta Simionato.

After a couple of weeks of less pleasant official duties, Signore Gronchi was present, the night after Christmas, at the Rome Opera for an uneven production of Handel's *Giulio Cesare.* Despite the excellent, measured conducting of Gianandrea Gavazzeni, one of Italy's most sensible and least publicized conductors, the opera limped: there are few singers around who can sing florid music successfully, and none of these few was present. The production was typical of the Rome Opera: a good choice of music, a couple of good elements (in this case, the conductor and the designer), but enough bad ones to mar the evening's pleasure. This year Rome has the most interesting repertory (including Verdi's *Macbeth* and Tschaikowsky's *Pique-Dame),* but if the house runs true to form, the performances will surely be spoiled by bad casting or bad conducting or bad staging.

THE MOST interesting operatic event of the season so far did not take place in one of the big three opera houses. It was the opening of La Piccola Scala, the tiny theatre constructed for performance of chamber operas, housed in the same building as La Scala and created and run by the same management. The 600 elect who crowded into the first performance on December 27 witnessed a banner production of Cimarosa's masterpiece *Il matrimonio segreto* (a work almost never performed professionally in the U. S.; perhaps because we have no proper chamber theatre?). This opening production indicated the new house's intentions: experienced and well-known singers like Simionato and Graziella Sciutti (a veteran of Glyndebourne and Edinburgh) were cast alongside new singers like the graceful tenor Luigi Alva and soprano Eugenia Ratti, who until now has sung only some minor roles at La Scala. The opera was staged by Giorgio Strehler, brilliant director of Milan's Piccolo Teatro, who has had only limited operatic experience (he staged effectively the Prokofiev *Angel of Fire* at the last Venice Festival). He and conductor Nino Sanzogno, a Scala regular, gave a fresh, sprightly rendition of a charming work.

THE design of the theatre has been criticized: it is a high-ceilinged square room, with a wall of boxes at the back and a narrow line of gallery running along the very top of each side-wall. Though some of the criticism can be attributed to a firm Milanese tendency to depreciate new ventures, one must admit that the immediate effect of the hall is less than perfect: the wall of boxes, especially, has a distinct chicken-coop quality. Still, the seats are comfortable, the furnishings (yellow velvet and damask) are pretty; perhaps, when some of the candy-box newness has worn off, the theatre will be more acceptable. Some of the critics insist that the acoustics are too loud; but to others, myself included, they had a welcome brightness, a high-fidelity ring not ill-adapted to the predominately eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century repertory that is scheduled.

The next production is to be a gala *Cosi fan tutte,* conducted by Guido Cantelli (who hasn't done any opera since the very beginning of his career), designed by Eugene Berman, and sung by Elizabeth Schwarzkopf and Nan Merriman. Later in the year there will be a modern program (De Falla's *El Retablo de Maese Pedro,* Stravinsky's *Apollo Musagete,* and a new work by the Milanese composer G. F. Ghedini), then Alessando Scarlatti's *Mitridate Eupatore* along with Cherubini's *Crescendo* and Donizetti's recently re-discovered *Rita.*

Last year, the San Carlo restored

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and reopened the lovely little Teatro di Corte in the Royal Palace, producing there a series of eighteenth-century operas primarily by Neapolitan composers like Paisiello and Pergolesi. In Rome, too, there is talk of constructing a little house for chamber operas. Thus in the next few years, Italy should have a kind of regular sub-season where, when the *appassionati* grow weary of the emotions of the Callas-Tebaldi battle, they can rest among less fiery, but equally musical and satisfying performances of chamber operas. Eventually new operas by contemporary composers will be added to the repertory; here they can be performed with less expense than in the bigger houses—and in more suitable surroundings. La Piccola Scala, in short, promises to be an institution of real importance in Italian music.

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

AN INJUSTICE has been done Christopher Marlowe. Because he is not Shakespeare, it has been suggested that he is negligible. *Tamburlaine the Great* (Winter Garden) is almost dismissed as a play. But it is a play, which despite its faults—the worst being a certain monotony of construction—possesses greatness.

It is not enough to note that it contains magnificent writing—as if poetry were merely an ornament—nor academically to state that it introduces the mighty line of Elizabethan verse or even that it served as an inspiration to the mightier man to come. *Tamburlaine* is a powerful, moving work in its own right. Presented in 1587, it might be called the first modern drama.

It is modern in the sense that it shows the self-made man (Greek heroes are always royal or godly), the superman of the egomaniac individualist's dream, to be as vulnerable a vessel as even the "common" man. What is particularly modern in this is the shock, one might say the resentment, the poet expresses in regard to destiny, his terrible recognition that even the man who challenges and triumphs over all other men, laws and moralities must finally be broken because he is no more than a man.

Marlowe was enamored of power; man was discovering an immense world and it was his to conquer. The treasures of this world roar, gleam, glow, chant temptingly in Marlowe's verse. All that the scholars had disclosed of the past and all the potential that was seen to lie in the future spread themselves and swell in a barbaric vista before Marlowe's and his hero's grandiose lust. The great man admits no limits to his passion. Because he is great he must possess all. In the end he finds that he must forever remain a perishable fragment. Hence the rage in Marlowe—the first black anguish of modern drama.

Tamburlaine is a hero—not a bloody villain, despite the savagery of his martial temperament. Marlowe admires him, identifies himself with him. That is why Marlowe makes him—for all Tamburlaine's gross megalomania—sensitive to beauty, capable of tenderness, humane in grief, honest with his captains and a kindly father. Tamburlaine is not the dictator in our derogatory contemporary sense, but a complete man as seen by an unsentimental Elizabethan for whom what to us is a revolting indifference to the suffering of others is not a heinous, unforgivable stain.

THE PACE of Tyrone Guthrie's production, which chiefly employs the players of the Festival Company of Stratford, Canada, is so rapid that the cast has great difficulty in making the play's words intelligible. I barely understood more than half of them. This obvious flaw is a symptom of something more deeply wrong.

Guthrie understands that the play must move torrentially, that it must have splendor and terrific muscular impetus. The sets, costumes and properties—designed by the Englishman Leslie Hurry—are very fine. What Guthrie overlooks is that the movement and passion of a play must be created through people—actors. The actors in this production are pawns: the text as meaning (and as poetry with a life of its own) hardly exists. Zenocrate's death is

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beautiful in color and composition, but the scene itself doesn't come alive because its very soul—Tamburlaine's sorrow—is taken for granted. It is indicated but it is not substantiated.

In the same scene, Zenocrate's corpse is waved about to look like a ghoulish puppet—very effective in itself—but the effect predominates over the pathos the scene demands. When Tamburlaine kills his son, the boy's body is shown to twitch convulsively like a slaughtered animal in its death throes—another striking effect—but the scene wasn't written for this macabre effect but for its relation to Tamburlaine's character.

All through the play, Guthrie applies effects *to* the text—mainly graphically melodramatic—but theatrical effects must come *out of* the text, they must seem to be a part of it: words and visualization must seem as if neither could exist without the other. Guthrie's virtuosity—far less evident in this instance, despite the larger canvas, than in *The Matchmaker*—does not make us feel, as it should, that we are in the presence of a stirring drama, but rather that a dusty Delacroix or betimes a Cecil M. deMille screen has been used to cover a masterpiece.

And yet—and yet—how glad I am to see a play that dwells in the realm of glory.

Letters

Soviet Competition

Dear Sirs: Peter Wiles's article on Soviet competition in the December 31 issue is a facer. It may be better to confine comment to his one superb suggestion for "a central efficiency audit," which he discerns is better than the Soviet "100 per cent central plan."

A number of Boston manufacturers set up precisely such an audit for their mutual advantage. After a short trial period they agreed in advance to adopt every considered suggestion made by their audit committee. This means for stimulating self-improvement worked very well.

I mention this because they overcame—though admittedly on a tiny scale—the greatest obstacle to meeting Soviet competition. That obstacle is the need to free our social order from its disastrous "lag," from "the very slow spread of methods proved correct by the best firms." Most of our top industrial leaders, especially those who keynote industrial policy, do not make use of competent counsel. If you reread Wiles's eight reasons for the Soviet industrial progress, you will see that there is little there which could not be done and done better under competent leadership which enlists free labor unionism, as some leaders are already doing. The example from Boston suggests that Wiles's proposal would work best if the top industrial leaders should themselves initiate this "central efficiency audit." If they do this, the time lag will certainly be greatly shortened and the audit findings may gain acceptance fast enough to meet the Soviet challenge. Opposition, disagreement and disastrous delay would surely follow orders to change "imposed from above," but sponsored and directed from within may not such an audit become a flowering of the democratic process?

FRANCIS GOODELL
Yarmouthport, Mass.

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on running a swell article in your December 31 issue, Peter Wiles's piece on Soviet competition. It was a good honest job.

SID LENS
Chicago, Ill.

Religion on the Campus

Dear Sirs: I'd like to correct an error that appeared in my article on "Religion on the Campus" as it was published in your January 7 issue.

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. did not report that "some 60 per cent of the population have a certain hostility toward the church." It reported, as I said in my article as submitted, that the current "religious boom" has swept some 60 per cent of the population onto the rolls of the churches and synagogues.

The contrast I drew in my article was basically this: While the popular religious revival in the nation as a whole has swept people into church and synagogue, the increased religious interest on the campuses has not brought students in great numbers into chapel or church, and has at times resulted in a certain hostility toward the church among some of those very students who are deeply interested in religion.

STANLEY ROWLAND, JR.
New York City.

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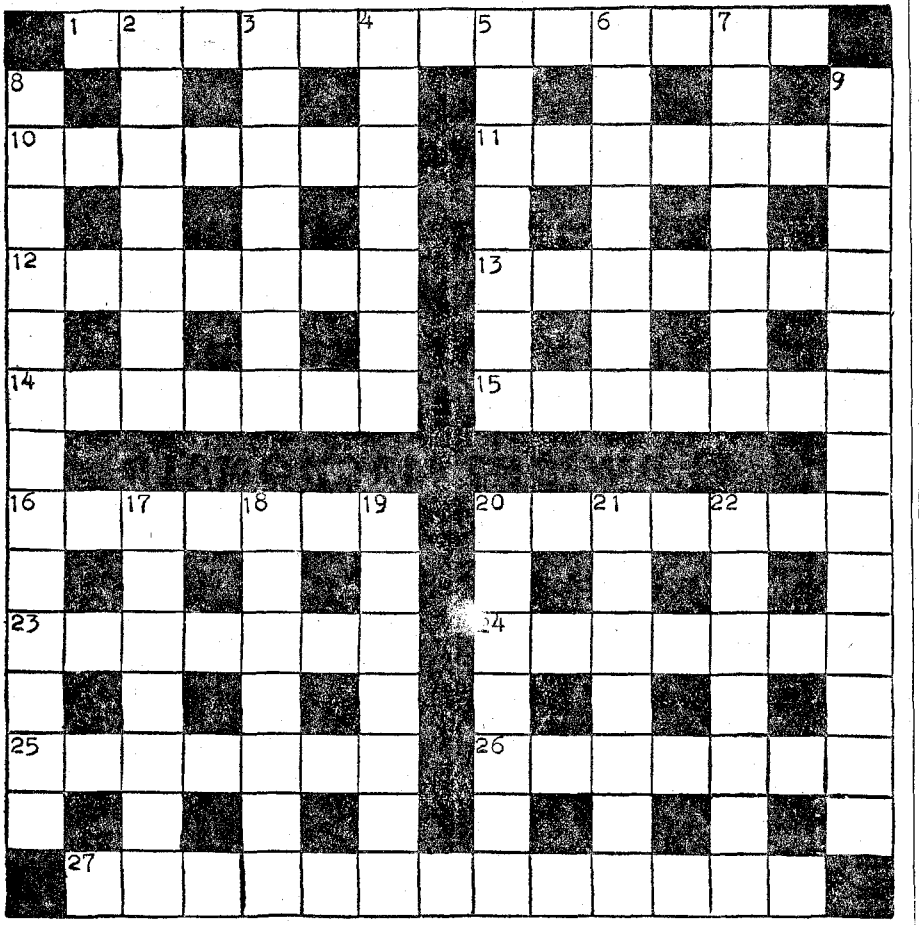
Crossword Puzzle No. 657

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The sort of political tactics displayed by the Avilla machine? (13)
10 Unable to get it confused with a thousand of the white? (7)
11 A conditional stipulation. (7)
12 Endeavors to follow a rather small type in the race, perhaps. (7)
13 Fliers are indebted to rose oil for it. (7)
14 A selection of any goes for the bunch! (7)
15 Is it cancer that makes the old fellow crotchety? (3, 4)
16 Could what some people raise be a Master painter? (7)
20 Proving at least one poet has holes in his shoes! (4, 3)
23 A period of service with the world organization? (7)
24 Meat substitute? One could be quite comfortable with it! (7)
25 Lowers into the same den that formed it. (7)
26 Such a copper isn't necessarily green. (7)
27 "Bunt" or "take"? (7, 6)

DOWN

2 The trailer may show the star, but usually this shows the trailer. (7)
3 Calling attention to the border? (7)
4 May get "shook up" about the home, due o forgetfulness. (7)
5 Spinoza said everyone is fond of relating his own in a plural form. (7)
6 A Durocher team? (Brings out the animal instinct! (7)
7 One of the innermost feathers, not well placed between a tool and the head of 2. (7)
8 Implying the paper has a following. (All contestants take heads and tails.) (4, 3, 6)
9 A crime, or just a chore for pet owners? (13)
17 Where unconventional people like 16 come from? (7)
18 Does such a quotation demand concentration? (7)
19 His pains seem to continue, even though he's no longer with the government. (7)
20 Look up and down; the inside is just play. (7)
21 To put it bluntly, weaseled! (Mine has the wrong color on the outside.) (7)
22 This was the name for the model before it went dynastic. (3-4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 656

ACROSS: 1 AD INFINITUM; 9 FLAMINGO; 11 VARSITY; 12 CARNAGE; 14, 13, and 20 arross ASLEEP AT THE SWITCH; 15 TREATING; 17 FEVERISH; 22 LIMPETS; 24 INFORMS; 27 OBEDIENT; 28 STOREKEEPER. DOWN: 2 DAMASCENE; 3 and 10 NONSTOP FLIGHT; 4 and 25 IRONWORK; 5 INFLATE; 6 UNION; 7 and 26 CLEAR SAILING; 8 SHOGUN; 16 TRILOBITE; 18 ELICIT; 19 INTEGER; 20 SINCERE; 21 CEMENT; 23 POINT.

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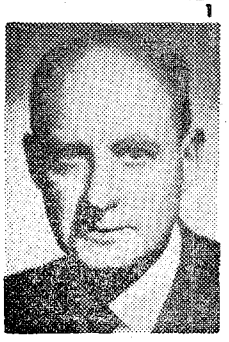
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